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Negro's Place in Nature:

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE

London Anthropological Society,

BY DR. JAMES HUNT, F. R. S.,

PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

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INTRODUCTORY.

Ten years ago, the writer published in pamphlet form, the introductory chapter of a work entitled "Negroes and Negro Slavery"—since published—in which he first promulgated to the world the simple, obvious, every day, but most momentous truth, that so called slavery was the normal condition of the Negro. This pamphlet, with this new revelation of a truth six thousand years old, and practically recognized by every generation of Americans since the landing of a handful of African Negroes at Jamestown, made a profound impression on the Southern mind, not from its originality or profundity, but from its novelty, and the wonder it excited that a truth so obvious, and indeed unavoidable, had been so long thrust, out of sight by the mental dictation of the enemies of American Institutions.

Nevertheless, the false mental habits of the South, as at the North, were so deeply fixed, that some of the most intellectual men then in Congress, hesitated to accept the doctrine announced, and among them Mr. A. H. STEPHENS, of Georgia, was especially conspicuous. Of course it carried with it, or rather it was based on the foundation *fact* of *diverse races*, and this *seemed* to some to conflict with Bible authority. In an interview with Mr. STEPHENS. he declared that his mother had taught him to believe in that Book, and he solemnly pledged himself neither to read the pamphlet nor anything else that conflicted with its authority It was quite in vain to say to him that there was no conflict whatever. He would listen to nothing, and as the author could not condescend to argue a question of *fact* against a *feeling*, he left Mr. STEPHENS with no very high estimate of his intellectual endowments.

It was a year or two later, perhaps, when his most intimate friends finally persuaded him to read the pamphlet in question, and from that hour he *was* and *is* the clearest, most pronounced, and most complete exponent and advocate of the new doctrine among all the public men of the day.

The pamphlet was extensively circulated at the South, and some few copies at the North. No other Democratic member, except MR. STEPHENS, refused to accept the new faith, though some journals, and especially the *Charleston Mercury* declined to do so, and it clung with such tenacity to the Abolition theory of Slavery and an "Irrepressible Conflict," that it even refused to exchange with THE NEW YORK DAY-BOOK, after that journal became the organ of the grand and momentous truths in issue.

Some few Northern men, then in Congress, assented to the new doctrine in *private*, but declined the responsibility of standing by the truth in *public*, and the late Senator DOUGLAS distributed a considerable number of copies among his constituents, under the *frank of* MR. SLIDELL. No class in the South, not even the politicans came into its support, more promptly or heartily than the Southern clergy, and within five years after the pamphlet was published, the old traditional misconception, that social subordination of the Negro was

slavery and an evil, was repudiated by the intelligence and morality of the South. Such was the beginning of a Mental Revolution the most stupendous, wide-spreading and most beneficial of modern times, and which, when completed at the North, will settle forever that "Irrepressible Conflict" that has so long disturbed the country, and leave the next generation, and indeed all future generations of Americans, to wonder how such a monstrous outrage on reason and the nature of things as the "Anti-Slavery" delusion could ever have had an existence among us.

The Human Family is composed of a certain number of species or races, just as all other forms of being, which are generally alike, but specifically unlike. The White, or Caucasian, is the most elevated, and the Negro the most subordinate of all the Races in their organic structure, and therefore in their faculties. This is *fact*, unchanging, immovable, everlasting fact, fixed by the hand of the Almighty, but whether so at the beginning of all things, or by subsequent decree of the Eternal, mortals are not permitted to know. We know the *fact*, and God holds us responsible only for our mode of dealing with it, and when we wilfully shut our eyes, disregard and ignore it altogether, and impiously strive to degrade our race *down*, or to force the Negro *up*, to "impartial freedom," or a forbidden level, we are blindly striving to reverse the natural order, and to *reform* the work of the Almighty. And every man, and every woman too, in this broad land, North and South, East and West, is on one side or the other of this tremendous issue—either impiously and wickedly—helping on a monstrous crusade against the order of nature and decrees of the Eternal—or, however blindly, striving to preserve the normal order and safety of American Institutions. This being so, and it is necessarily so—what an awful responsibility rests on every individual, in view of the slaughter and destruction around us, to get at the truth involved in this matter? The lecture of Dr. Hunt, embraced in the following pages, will enable all earnest and conscientious minds, who desire it, to reach the fundamental truth of this momentous question. He has collected all the reliable modern authorities, and demonstrates what every unperverted American *knows*—that the Negro is a different and subordinate species or race. This fundamental *fact*, clearly apprehended and accepted, becomes the starting point for the mental regeneration of our people and the restoration of peace, Union and harmony in all sections of our common country.

J. H. VAN EVRIE, M. D.

New York, 1st February, 1864.

THE NEGRO'S PLACE IN NATURE.

I propose in this communication to discuss the physical and mental characters of the Negro, with a view of determining not only his position in animated nature, but also the station he should occupy in the genus Homo. I shall necessarily have to go over a wide field, and cannot hope to treat the subject in an exhaustive manner. I shall be amply satisfied if I succeed in directing the attention of my scientific friends to a study of this most important and hitherto nearly neglected branch of study in the great science of Anthropology.

It is not a little remarkable that the subject I propose to bring before you this evening is one which has never been discussed before a scientific audience in this Metropolis. In France, in America, and in Germany, the physical and mental characters of the Negro have been frequently discussed, and England alone has neglected to pay that attention to the question which its importance demands. I shall, therefore, not apologize to you for bringing this subject in its entirety under your consideration, although I should have preferred discussing each point in detail. I hope, however, this evening to lay before you facts and opinions that will make a good foundation for future inquiry and discussion. Although I shall dwell chiefly on the physical, mental and moral characters of the Negro, I shall, at the same time, not hesitate to make such practical deductions which appear to be warranted from the facts we now have at hand, and trust that a fair and open discussion of this subject may eventually be the means of removing much of the misconception which appears to prevail on this subject both in the minds of the public, and too frequently in the minds of scientific men. While, however, I shall honestly and without reservation state the conclusions to which I have arrived, I shall at the same time listen with deep attention and respect to those who differ from me, and who support their opinions by facts, by the observation of some travelers, and by their own observation. Heretofore, however, it has happened that much human passion has been introduced, not only into public discussions, but especially into the literature of this subject.—Even such a generally fair and philosophic writer as Professor Waitz has accused men of science of promulgating scientific views which are practically in favor of the so-called "slavery" of the Confederate States of America. Many other scientific men could be named who have equally been guilty of imputing such unfair and uncharitable motives—while, on the other hand, scientific men who are thus accused, retort by calling their opponents all sorts of epithets. One

writer, for instance, exclaims: "How I loathe that hypocrisy which claims the same mental, moral and physical equality for the Negro which the whites possess!" No good can come of discussion conducted in such a spirit. If we wish to discover what is truth, we must give each other credit for scientific honesty, and not impute base or interested motives.

In the first place, I would explain that I understand by the Negro, the dark, woolly-headed African found in the neighborhood of the Gambia, Senegal and Kongo rivers. Africa contains, like every other continent, a large number of different races; and these, having become very much mixed, may be estimated as a whole at about 150 millions, occupying a territory of between 13 and 14 millions of square miles. I shall not enter into any disquisition as to the great diversity of physical conformation that is found in different races, but shall simply say that my remarks will be confined to the typical woolly-headed Negro. Not only is there a large amount of mixed blood in Africa, but there are also apparently races of very different physical characters, and in as far as they approach the typical Negro, so far will my remarks apply to them. But I shall exclude entirely from consideration all those who have European, Asiatic, Moorish or Berber blood in their veins

THE NEGRO.

My object is to attempt to determine the position which one well-defined race occupies in the genus Homo, and the relation or analogy which the Negro race bears to animated nature generally.—We have heard discussions recently respecting Man's place in nature; but it seems to me that we err in grouping all the different races of Man under one generic name, and then comparing them with the Anthropoid Apes. If we wish to make any advance in discussing such a subject, we must not speak of man generally, but must select one race of species, and draw our comparison in this manner. I shall adopt this plan in comparing the Negro with the European as represented by the German, Frenchman or Englishman. Our object is, not to support some foregone conclusion, but to endeavor to ascertain what is the truth,by a careful and conscientious examination and discussion of the facts before us. In any conclusion I may draw respecting the Negro's character, no decided opinion will be implied as to the vexed question of man's origin. If the Negro could be proved to be a distinct species to the European, it would not be proved that they had not the same origin—it would only render their identity of origin less likely. I shall, also, have to dwell much on the analogies existing between the Negro and the Anthropoid Apes; but these analogies do not necessarily involve relationship. The Negro race in some of its characters, is the lowest of existing races, while in others it approaches the highest type of European; and this is the case with other savage races. We find the same thing in the Anthropoid Apes, where some species resemble man in one character and some in another. The father of English ethnology, Dr. Pritchard, taught that the original pair must have been Negroes, and that mankind descended from them. His words are:—"It must be concluded that the process of nature in the human species is the transmutation of the characters of the Negro into those of the European, or the evolution of white varieties in the black races of men. We have seen that there are

causes existing which are capable of producing such an alteration, but we have no facts which induce us to suppose that the reverse of this change could in any circumstances be effected. This leads us to the inference that the primitive stock of men were Negroes, which has every appearance of truth." It is not a little remarkable that although Blumenbach and Pritchard were both advocates for the unity of man, they materially differed in their arguments.—Blumenbach saw, in his five varieties of man, nothing but degeneracy from some ideal perfect type. Pritchard, on the contrary, asserted he could imagine no arguments, or knew of no facts, to support such a conclusion. Pritchard, however, was not alone in this supposition; for Pahas, Lacepede, Hunter, Schelver, Doornik and Link, were also inclined to the same view. We must not dwell on such idle speculations, for on the present occasion we shall not touch on the origin of man; it will be enough if we assist in removing some of the misconception in which the Negro race has been enveloped in the minds of some of my scientific brethren. It is too generally taught that the Negro only differs from the European in the color of his skin and the peculiarity of his hair; but such opinions are not supported by facts. The skin and hair are not the only things which distinguish the Negro from the European, even physically; and the difference is greater, mentally and morally, than the demonstrated physical difference. In the first place, what are the physical distinctions between the Negro and the other races of man?

The average height of the Negro is less than the European, and although there are occasionally exceptions, the skeleton of the Negro is generally heavier, and the bones larger and thicker in proportion to the muscles, than those of the European. The bones are also whiter, from the greater abundance of calcerous salts. The thorax is generally laterally compressed, and, in thin individuals, presents a cylindrical form, and is smaller in proportion to the extremities. The extremities of the Negro differ from other races more by proportion than by form; the arm usually reaches below the middle of the femur. The leg is on the whole longer, but is made to look short on account of the ankle being only between 1¼ in. to 1½ in. above the ground. This character is often seen in mulattoes. The foot is flat and the heel is both flat and long. Burmeister has pointed out the resemblance of the foot and the position of the toes of the Negro to those of the ape. The toes are small, the first separated from the second by a free space. Many observers have noticed the fact that the Negro frequently uses the great toe as a thumb. The knees are rather bent, the calves weak, and the upper part of the thigh rather thin. The upper thigh-bone of the Negro has not so decided a resemblance to the ape as that of the bushman. He rarely stands quite upright, his short neck and large development of the cervical muscles give great strength to the neck; enabling him to fight like a ram, or carry large weights on his head. The shoulders, arms, and legs are all weak in comparison. The hand is always relatively larger than in the European. The palm is flat, thumb narrow, long, and very weak.

It appears from a table prepared by Dr. Pruner Bey, that the humerus and the femur in the Negro and European, of equal height, are shorter in the Negro than in the European; while the tibia,

the foot, the radius, and the hand, are more elongated than in the Negro race. That the fingers and arms are longer has long been affirmed, but we have to thank Dr. Pruner Bey for the absolute proof.

The great distinguishing characters of the Negro are the flattened forehead, which is low and compressed. The nose and whole face is flattened, and the Negro thus has a facial angle generally between 70 and 75 degrees, occasionally only 65 degrees. The nasal cavities and the orbits are spacious. The skull is very hard and unusually thick; enabling the Negroes to fight or carry heavy weights on their heads with pleasure. The coronal region is arched, but not so much developed as in the European women. The posterior portion of the skull is increased, however, in proportion to that of the anterior being diminished. But M. Gratiolet has shown that the unequal development of the anterior lobes is not the sole cause of the psychological inequalities of the human races. The same scientific observer has also stated that in the superior or frontal races, the cranial sutures close much earlier than in the inferior or occipital races. The frontal races he considers superior, not simply from the form of the skull, but because they have an absolutely more voluminous brain. The frontal cavity being much larger than the occipital, a great loss of space is caused by the depressing of the anterior region, which is not compensated for by the increase of the occipital region. M. Gratiolet has also observed that in the anterior races the sutures of the cranium do not close so early as in the occipital or inferior races. From these researches it appears that in the Negro the growth of the brain is sooner arrested than in the European. This premature union of the bones of the skull may give a clue to much of the mental inferiority which is seen in the Negro race. There can be no doubt that in puberty a great change takes place in relation to physical development; but in the Negro there appears to be an arrested development of the brain, exactly harmonizing with the physical formation. Young Negro children are nearly as intelligent as European children; but the older they grow the less intelligent they become. They exhibit, when young, an animal liveliness for play and tricks, far surpassing the European child. The infant ape's skull resembles more the Negro's head than the aged ape, and thus shows a striking analogy in their craniological development.

Weber pointed out that there were four forms of the human pelvis, and that they might be classified under the following heads: The oval (European), round (American), square (Mongol), and oblong (African). The latest researches of Dr. Pruner Bey enabled him to affirm that this law is perfectly applicable to the Negro. The head of the Negro is the test type of the long skull, with small development of the mental region. The form of the pelvis is narrow, conical, or cuneiform, and small in all its diameters. Vrolik has asserted that the pelvis of the Negro male bears a great resemblance to that of the lower mammalia. With respect to the capacity of the cranium of the Negro, great difference of opinion has prevailed. Tiedemann's researches, although very limited, have, until recently, been accepted as satisfactory He stated it as his opinion that "the brain of the Negro is, upon the whole, quite as large as that of the European and other human races;

the weight of the brain, its dimensions, and the capacity of the *cavum cranii* prove this fact." All recent researches have, however, done much to show that Tiedemann s investigations are not only unsatisfactory, but that his conclusion i: not warranted by the facts which we have at hand. Blumenbach's, Kuox's, and Lawrence's conclusions did not accord with Tiedemann's. But the most satisfactory researches on this point are those made by the late Dr. Mortou, of Americe, and his successor, Dr. J. A. Meigs, of Philadelphia. Dr. Meigs, in following out the researches of his predecessor, has found that in size of the brain, the Negro comes after the European, Finn, Syro-Egyptian, Mongol, Malay, the Semitic, American Indian, and the Esquimaux; but that the brain of the Negro race takes precedence of the ancient civilized races of America, the Egyptian of all periods, the Hindoo, the Hottentot, the Australian, and the Negroes of Polynesia. Thus we see that the Negro has at least six well-defined races above him and six below him, taking the internal cavity of the brain as the test. Pruner Bey says that his own experience with the external measurements did not yield essentially different results. But we now know that it i: necessary to be most cautious in accepting the capacity of the cranium, simply as an absolute test of the intellectual power of any race.

The recent researches of Huschke on this point are most significant and valuable. He gives the following mean measurements of the surface of the cranium:

Male Negro:	Male European:
53,206 square millimetres.	59,305 square millimetres.
Female:	Women:
49,863 " "	" "

Relative size of three cranial vertebræ expressed in hundredths (1.):

	Negro.	Negress.	European Male.	European Female.
1st vertebræ	7·7	8·1	9·7	9·08
2d and 3d together	92·3	81·9	90·3	90·92
	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
2d vertebræ alone	75·7	76·4	27·7	74·1
3d vertebræ	24·3	23·6	27·3	25·9
	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

"It is surprising," says Pruner Bey, who quotes these tables, "to observe to what a degree the mean capacity of the Negro cranium approaches in its *ensemble* that of the European female, and particularly how much in both the middle vertebræ predominates above the two others; whilst on the contrary, in the European male, the posterior vertebræ, and particularly the anterior, are more developed in relation to the middle vertebra than they are in the Negro and in the European female. It should be remarked that the occipital vertebræ of the Negress is more spacious than that of the Negro."

Tiedemann affirmed that the hair of the Negro did not resemble that of the oran-utan more than the European, except in the more symmetrical distribution of the gyri and sulci. Tiedemann also denied Soemmering's assertion that the nerves of the Negro are larger, in proportion to the brain, than in the European; but Pruner Bey has confirmed Soemmering's assertion.

There seems to be, generally, less difference between the Negro and Negress, than between the European male and female; but on the other hand, the Negress, with the shortened numerus, presents a disadvantage "which one might be tempted to look at as a return to the animal form." Lawrence says, "the Negro structure approaches unequivocally to that of the ape;" while Bory St. Vincent, and Fischer do not

greatly differ in their description of the anatomy of the Negro, to the facts I have adduced.

It cannot be doubted that the brain of the Negro bears a great resemblance to a European woman or child's brain, and thus approaches the ape far more than the European, while the Negress approaches still nearer to the ape.

With regard to the chemical constituents of the brain of the Negro, little positive is yet known. It has been found however, that the grey substance of the brain of a Negro is of a darker color than that of the European, that the whole brain is of a smoky tint, and that the *pia mater* contains brown spots, which are never found in the brain of a European. M. Broca has recently had an opportunity of confirming the truth of this statement. With regard to the convolutions there is unanimous testimony that the convolutions of the brain of the Negro are less numerous and more massive than in the European. Waitz thinks that the only resemblance of the Negro's brain to that of the ape is limited to this point. Some observers have thought they have detected a great resemblance between the development of the temporal lobe in the Negro and ape; but much further observation is required on this important subject.

The eyes are more separated than in the European, but not so much as in the Mongol. The aperture of the eye is narrow, horizontal, and both eyes are wide apart. All the teeth, especially the last molars, are generally large, long, hard, and very white, and usually show little signs of being worn. In some Negro skulls there have been found an extra molar in the upper jaw. There is sometimes a space between the incisors and canine teeth of the upper jaw. The inferior molars sometimes present in the Negro race five tubercles, and this anamoly is sporadically found in other races. It has been noticed in the European and the Esquimaux, but is affirmed by my friend Mr. Carter Blake to be more frequent in the Negro and Australian than in any other race. Sometimes Negroes have thirty-four instead of thirty-two teeth. The skin between the fingers, according to Van der Hœven, reaches higher up than in the European. The skin is also much thicker, especially on the skull, the palm of the hand, and the sole of the foot. The *rete mucosum*, which is the chief seat of coloration, present nothing particular as regards structure. The hair of the Negro is essentially different from that of the European, and consists of a coarse, crisp, frizzy sort of wool, and grows in tufts, like the wool of sheep. It is rarely more than three inches long, and generally not nearly so much. The larynx in the Negro is not much developed, and the voice resembles sometimes the alto of an eunuch. In the male the voice is low and hoarse, and in the female it is acute and shrieking; at least, this is the opinion that has generally been given by Hamilton Smith and others; but there appear to be exceptions, for Dr. R. Clarke says that "a pleasing manner, soft and winning ways, with a low and musical laugh may in strict truth be declared to be the heritage of most of the Negro woman."—There is a peculiarity in the Negro voice by which he can always be distinguished This peculiarity is so great that we can frequently discover traces of Negro blood when the eye is unable to detect it. No amount of education or time is likely ever to enable the Negro to speak the English language without this twang.

Even his great faculty of imitation will not enable him to do this.

Having thus briefly recapitulated the anatomical peculiarities of the Negro, we now come to the physiological difference between the Negro and the European.

The assumption of the unity of the species of man has been based chiefly on the asserted fact that the offspring of all the mixtures of the so-called races of man are prolific. Now, this is assuming what yet has to be established. At present it is only proved that the descendants of some of the different races of man are temporarily prolific; but there is the best evidence to believe that the offspring of the Negro and European are not indefinitely prolific. This question is one which must be dealt with separately and proved by facts. At present we find that all *prima facie* evidence is against the assumption that permanently mixed races can be permanently produced, especially if the races are not very closely allied. This subject, however, merits a special discussion and comes into that large and important question—human hybridity. We must, therefore, not agree with the asserted statement, especially when we find that the two scientific men who have in recent times paid the most attention to this subject—I allude to Messrs. Broca and Nott—have come to the conclusion that the offspring of the Negro and European are not indefinitely prolific.—With the permission of the Society, I will enter into that question at some future day.

M. Flourens asserted that the Negro children were born white; but recent observation has shown that this not the case. Benet, ex-physician of Runjeet Singh, and Dumoutier, affirmed that the children are born chestnut color. M. Pruner Bey confirms this fact from personal observation.

In the negro race there is a great uniformity of temperament. In every people of Europe all temperaments exist; but in the Negro race we can only discover analogies for the choleric and phlegmatic temperaments. The senses of the Negro are very acute, especially the smell and taste; but Pruner Bey says that there has been much exaggeration as to the perfection of the senses of the Negro, and that their eye-sight, in particular, is very much inferior to the European. The most detestable odors delight him, and he eats everything.

While the anatomical and physiological questions must be decided by actual facts, we have still remaining the physiological peculiarity of the Negro to investigate. It is here, perhaps, that the greatest amount of misconception exists in the minds of the public generally, and not unfrequently in the minds of some men of science. Wedded to the theory of a single pair for the origin of man, they attempt to show that there is in mankind no variety nothing but uniformity

That it may be seen that I do not exaggerate on this point, I will quote the words of an esteemed friend, which he read last year at Cambridge. He says:—"For as God made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and endowed them all with the same animal, intellectual, moral and religious nature; so has he bound them altogether—in accordance with the high behest that they should increase and multiply and replenish the earth—in one common bond of universal brotherhood."

I am astonished that an Ethnologist, a student of the Science of the Races of

Man, could deliberately make the statement that all races have the same intellectual, moral and religious natures. Rather the reverse is the real fact. Intelligence is the great peculiarity of man, and it is in the instincts of each race that we find the greatest difference. Mr. Dunn, however, it must be acknowledged, does not carry out the principle he here enunciates, for he fully admits the fact that, principally, Negro children cannot be educated with the whites. He also admits that some of the lower races are not able to receive complex ideas, or have little power of thinking and none of generalization, although they have excellent memories. The assertion that the Negro only requires an opportunity for becoming civilized is disproved by history. The African race have had the benefit of the Egyptian, Carthaginian, and Roman civilizations, but nowhere did they become civilized. Not only have the Negro race never civilized themselves, but they have never accepted any other civilization. No people have had so much communication with Christian Europeans as the people of Africa, where Christian bishops existed for centuries. They possess some knowledge of metallurgy, but no other arts; their rude laws seem to have been borrowed and changed to suit their peculiar instincts. With the Negro, as with some other races of man, it has been found that the children are precocious, but that no advance in education can be made after they arrive at the age of maturity; they still continue mentally children. The dark races generally do not accept the civilization which surrounds them, as is shown in the South Sea, where they remain the uncivilized race by the side of the Malays. The opinion of Dr. Channing, of America, is often quoted respecting the Negro. He says: "I would expect from the Negro race, when civilized, less energy, less courage, less intellectual originality, than in ours; but more amiableness, tranquility, gentleness, and content." Now, if possible to civilize them, there is no doubt they would show less energy, less courage, and intellectual originality (of which they would be utterly defficient;) and as to their amiableness, tranquility, gentleness, and content, it would be more like the tranquility and content shown by some of our domestic animals than anything else to which we can compare it. It has been said that the present slaveholders of America "no more think of rebellion amongst their full-blooded slaves than they do of rebellion among their cows and horses." It has also been affirmed (and I believe it the truth) that not a single soldier has been required to keep order in the Slave States.

The many assumed cases of civilized Negroes generally are not of pure African blood. In the Southern States of North America, in the West Indies and other places, it has been frequently observed that the Negroes in places of trust have European features; and some writers have supposed that these changes have been due to a gradual improvement in the Negro race which is taking place under favorable circumstances. It has been affirmed that occasionally there are seen Negroes of pure blood who possess European featues. Some observers have assumed that improvement has taken place in the intellect of the Negro by education, but we believe such not to be the fact. It is simply the European blood in their veins which renders them fit for places of power, and they often use this power far more cruelly than either of the pure-blooded races. At

the same time, there are doubtless many exceptions to this rule; depending perhaps on the amount of mixture of blood and inherited peculiarities. It is affirmed that the Negro only requires early education to be equal to the European; but all experiments of this kind have proved that such is not the case. To such a statement I would oppose the opinion of Prumer Bey, who says that "with regard to the regular Caucasian features, with which some travelers have endowed certain Negro people, among many thousand Negroes which have come under my observation, there was not one who could lay claim to it."

Instances have often been quoted in which a reputed European skull has shown the character of the Negro. Such an instance there is in the College of Surgeons, another in Morton's museum, and one in Gall's collections; but if we admit these to have belonged to the pure race, we shall only be admitting that in one character the European skull sometimes resembles a Negro; but there will be plenty of other characters to show that they did not belong to the same race or species, and it ought simply to caution us not to base our ideas of race or species upon one character. We know that species of the mammalia frequently cannot be distinguished by the form of the skeleton, and we must therefore not be surprised to find that we are unable to prove a distinction of species in mankind if we take the cranium, or even the skeleton, as a sole test.

We now know it to be a patent fact that there are races existing which have no history, and that the Negro is one of these races. From the most remote antiquity the Negro race seems to have been what they now are. We may be pretty sure that the Negro race have been without a progressive history; and that they have been for thousands of years the uncivilized race they are at this moment. Egyptian monuments depict them the inferior race they are at this minute, and holding exactly the same position to the European. Morton truly observes: "Negroes were numerous in Egypt, but their social position in ancient times was the same that it is now, that of servants and slaves.

Some writers have assumed that the Negro has degenerated from some higher form of civilization, but we see no evidence to support such an assertion. We, however, fully admit that there are found traces of a higher civilization, especially along the coast visited, during all ages, by Europeans. The working of metals and imitation of European manufactures also existed in many parts of Africa. Indeed, there seems to be a great sameness in this respect throughout all Africa. Consul Hutchinson has given an interesting account of the finding of some implements used by the natives of Central Africa, exactly resembling those used by the Anglo-Saxon.

He says: "You will be surprised to hear, no doubt, that I brought down with me from the tribes of Filatahs, in Central Africa, iron heads of spears with wooden shafts and iron-spiked ferules heads of javelins and arrows, double-edge swords, knives, beads for ornaments, potteryware for culinary purposes, exactly similar in pattern to those that are described by Mr. Wright, in a paper on 'Fausset Antiquities,' which he read before the British Association at Liverpool, in 1856, and which antiquities, I need scarcely tell you, were excavated in Canterbury, as well as proved to have been used in this country before the introduction of Christianity to our shores.

Even the cowrie (the shell of the *cypræa moneta*), which is described in Mr. Wright's paper as having been found among other relics of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, is in this very day the currency among the Filatahs. It may perhaps increase the interest of my statement, which can be demonstrated by the articles I brought home (being deposited at the Royal Institution Museum at Liverpool), when I add that they were obtained from tribes who had no record of ever having been visted by any white man previous to the time of our voyage at the end of 1854."

There is good reason to believe that, like all inferior races, there has been little or no self-migration of the Negro races since the earliest historical records. The European, forever restless, has migrated to all parts of the world, and traces of him are to be found in every quarter of the globe. Everywhere we see the European as the conquerer and the dominant race, and no amount of education will ever alter the decrees of Nature's laws.

We hear much of late in this country of the equality of the Negro and European, because we have little real knowledge of the Negro; but in America the Negro is better known. As Dr. Van Evrie observes: "In the United States, among a people almost universally educated, and where the fact of 'equality' is almost universally understood and acted on, personally as well as politically, the advocacy of woman's 'equality' in the sense that they (in England) argue it, or 'equality' of the Negro to the white man in any sense whatever, is inexcusable on the ground of ignorance; and those thus warring against the laws of nature and progress of society deserve to be treated as its enemies, or as absolute maniacs, and irresponsible for the evils they seek to inflict upon it." It has been assumed, on very insufficient evidence, that the Negroes in America improve in intelligence in every generation, and that they gradually approach the European type, M. Quatrefages, reeently direeted our attention to this point, as did Sir Charles Lyell, many years ago. It is affirmed that the head and body also approach the European, without any mixtures of the races.

M. Quatrefages quotes the following from M. Elisee Reclus: "We do not intend here to touch upon the question of slavery: we would merely state a certain fact — the constant advance of Negroes in the social scale. Even in physical respects they tend gradully to approach their masters; the Negroes of the United States have no longer the same type as the African Negroes: their skin is rarely of velvet black, though nearly all their progenitors have been imported from the Coast of Guinea; their cheekbones are less prominent, their lips are not so thick, nor is the nose so flattened; neither is the hair so crisp, the physiognomy so brutish, the facial angle so acute, as those of their brethren in the old world. In the space of one hundred and fifty years they have, as far as external appearance goes, passed one-fourth of the gulf which separates them from the white race." But we must be careful how we accept such statements.

On this point Dr. Nott has very judiciously observed: "Sir C. Lyell, in common with tourists less eminent, but on this question not less misinformed, has somewhere stated that the Negroes in America are undergoing a manifest improvement in their physical type.— He has no doubt that they will, in time, show a development in skull and intel-

leet quite equal to the whites. This unscientific assertion is disproved by the cranial measurements of Dr. Morton. That Negroes imported into, or born in the United States become more intelligent and better developed in their physique generally than their native compatriots of Africa, every one will admit: but such intelligence is easily explained by their ceaseless contact with the whites, from whom they derive much instruction; and such physical improvement may also be readily accounted for by the increased comforts with which they are supplied. In Africa, owing to their natural improvidence, the Negroes are more frequently than not a half-starved, and therefore half-developed race; but when they are regularly and adequately fed, they become healthier, better developed, and more humanized. Wild horses, cattle, asses and other brutes are greatly improved in like manner by domestication; but neither climate nor food can transmute an ass into a horse, or a buffalo into an ox."

The real facts seem to be, that the Negroes employed in domestic labor have more intelligence than those who are employed at field labor, who are nearly in the same state of intelligence as when they left Africa. We see, therefore, in this improvement of the Negro, simply the effect of education, but not of climate or other physical agents. We fully admit that the domestic Negro is improved in intelligence in America, resulting from the imitation of the sayings and doings of the superior race by which he is surrounded; but much of this improvement is owing to the mixture of European and Negro blood. The pure Negro is true to his character, and it is said that he is no sooner taught to read than he will take every chance of reading his master's letters; and if he be taught to write, he will soon learn to forge his master's signature. This applies with equal and perhaps greater force to those free, semi-civilized Negroes who are held by some in such theoretical veneration.

I intentionally avoided touching on the great diversity of physical type found in Africa, as this subject is not the object of the paper. There can be no doubt, however, that there is in both North and South Africa, every shade of color, and races with very different features. There are also in Central Africa some races, such as the Mandingoes, Fulahs, and Wolofs, who are quite distinct from the typical Negro. In these races some of the characters found in the pure Negro are found in only a very modified degree. How many races inhabit Africa, and their relation to one another, is not the subject of present inquiry. M. Pruner Bey has very judiciously made the following observations on this point:

"We must admit that the inferior orbital margins are frequently narrow and retreating; that the noses become longer and more prominent; that the lips, turned up in some tribes, are only full in others; that prognathism diminishes, without, however, disappearing entirely; that the aperture of the eye becomes wide; that the hair, short and woolly in most, grows longer; that the transverse diameter of the chest becomes enlarged; that even the pelvis, though much more rarely, acquires more rounded outlines; that the limbs acquire more harmonious proportions; that the hips, thighs, and legs become more fleshy and the foot more arched; but as regards the crowning of the work, *i. e.*, the skull, especially the cerebrum, all the variations in the Ne-

gro race remain confined within the limits which deserve our attention. In the Arian race the skull presents three fundamental types: the elongated form (producing in some exceptional cases prognathism), which approaches the limits of the Negro type; the short and round form, approaching to the Turanian race; and finally the typically beautiful oval form, which seems to have resulted from a combination of the two former. Nothing like it is to be found in the Negro. The skull is and remains elongated, it is elliptical, cuneiform, but never round; his facial bones may approach the pyramydal form by increasing the distance between the cheek bones, and may in this respect resemble the Kaffirs and the Bechuanas, but this is all." This generalization appears to me to be in accordance with all the known facts respecting the craniological development of the chief African tribes, which thus form one great ethnic family, although composed of many distinct races.

I need not enlarge on the well-known and admitted facts respecting the intense immorality which exists among the Mulattoes and others of mixed blood. There are, at the same time, perhaps, some exceptions to this general rule, which has been observed in every country where these people exist. I propose, on some future occasion, to lay before you evidence to show that nearly all the Negroes who are asserted to have arrived at any mental distinction have European blood in their veins.

Of all the questions connected with the Negro, the most difficult to settle is that of his intelligence. Amidst conflicting testimony, it is difficult to discover the truth. We may admit, however, that there are instances of the pure Negro showing great powers of memory, such as the acquirement of languages; but we must also remember that memory is one of the lowest mental powers. Numerous instances have been collected by different partisan writers to show that the Negro is equal, intellectually, to the European; but an examination of these cases nearly invariably leads to the conclusion that there has been much exaggeration in the statements made by writers as to the aptitude of the Negro for education and improvement.

The exhibitions of cases of intelligent Negroes in the saloons of the fashionable world by so-called "philanthropists," have frequently been nothing but mere impostures. In nearly every case in which the history of these cases has been investigated, it has been found that these so-called Negroes are the offspring of European and African parents. We admit, however, that the African Negro occasionally has great powers of memory, in learning languages, &c., but this is not admitting what is generally claimed for him. Some writers, who advocate the specific difference of the Negro from the European, have very injudiciously admitted that occasionally the Negro is equal in intellect to the European, but this admission has materially weakened their argument in favor of a specific difference. If this is so, let me ask those who hold such an opinion to give the name of one pure Negro who has ever distinguished himself as a man of science, as an author, a statesman, a warrior, a poet, an artist. Surely, if there is equality in the mental development of human races, some one instance can be quoted. From all the evidence we have examined, we see no reason to believe that the pure Negro ever advances further in intellect than an intelligent European boy of fourteen years of

age. Many writers have mentioned the precocity of the Negro children. Sir C. Lyell has observed: "Up to fourteen years of age black children advance as fast as the whites;" and Eliot Warburton has remarked that the modern Egyptian, "when young, is remarkably precocious in intellect, and learns with facility. As he grows up, his intelligence seems to be dulled or diminished. He has no genius for discovery, and though apt in acquiring rudiments, he is incapable of generalising. He fills subordinate departments well, but appears incapable of taking or of keeping a lead." Sir C. Lyell expresses his surprise at the results of the mixture of some European blood with the Negro, and thinks "it a wonderful fact, psychologically considered, that we should be able to trace the phenomena of hybridity even into the world of intellect and reason." It would, indeed, be remarkable if all men were endowed with the same instincts; but not so wonderful if we do not accept such an unfounded hypothesis. The pure Negro seems incapable of much mental cultivation; and Archbishop Sumner's much-talked of "improvable reason," as a distinction between men and animals, only finds a limited application in the Negro race. The reason of animals is improved to some extent by domestication and training, and this is all we can say of the Negro. Mr. Madden observes: "It will be seen by all the answers the missionary gentlemen in our different settlements have given to my queries respecting the mental capicity of Negro children, that they are considered universally, in that respect, equal to European children, and by some men, quicker in their perceptions, and more likely in their powers of apprension." To which Dr. R. Clarke adds: "This is observable from the ages of five to twelve or thirteen years: but from that period of life to the ages of eighteen or twenty, it becomes less strongly marked and there appears to be less activity in the mental faculties."

Professor Owen gives it as his opinion that we are unable "to appreciate or conceive of the distinction between the psychical phenomena of a chimpanzee and a Bosjesman;" but we think we are able clearly to appreciate the psychological distinction between the Negro and the chimpanzee; just as we are able to see that there are decided mental and moral distinctions between the European and the Negro. We fully admit, however, that the psychical distinction is simply a question of degree and not of kind.

The day is not far distant when we shall be able to analyze the mental character of the Negro far more minutely than we can do in the present infant state of psychological science. In dwelling on the mental character of the Negro we must, therefore, for the present, rely on the general observations of those *unbiased* travelers and others who have been much associated with the Negro race. In the first place we will see what is the evidence recently published of our English consuls, who have the best opportunities of judging of the character of the people amongst whom they are placed.

Consul Hutchinson, who spent no less than eighteen years on the West Coast of Africa, and who is as competent a judge as any man now living, says, that "his own observations on the African tribes tend to show that the African is not exactly the style of 'man and a brother' which mistaken enthusiasts for his

civilization depict him to be." He gives the result of a ten years' attendance at the Missionary school at Cape Palmas of one of his servants, a Kruman, and says that at the end he was asked what he knew of God? He replied: "God be very good; He made two things—one sleep and the other Sunday, when no person had to work." Consul Hutchinson says that "the thirst for each other's blood, which seems a daily habit amongst too many of the Negro tribes in Western Africa, appears to me to be incompatible with ordinary notions of common humanity." He adds that for scores of years European missionaries and English traders have mixed with them in social intercourse, yet they still cling "to their gris-gris, jujus, fetichism and cannibalism with as much pertinacity as they did many hundred years ago." He adds: "Here we have all the appliances of our arts, our science, and our Christianity, doing no more good than did the wheat in the parable that was sown amongst the briars and the thorns. To attempt civilizing such a race before they are humanized appears to me to be beginning at the wrong end. I have passed many an hour in cogitating and endeavoring to fabricate some sort of education likely to root out the fell spirit that dictates human sacrifices and cannibalism; but I fear years must elapse before any educational principle, in its simplest form, can produce an amendment on temperaments such as they possess."

Consul Burton considers that M. Du Chaillu's remarks "concerning the commercial shrewdness and eagerness, the greediness and rascality of the Negro, apply to him everywhere in his natural state." He says that he believes "that an abnormal development of adhesiveness, in popular language, a peculiar power of affection, is the brightest spot in the Negro character; as in children, it is somewhat tempered by caprice, especially under excitement, yet it has entitled him to the gratitude of many a traveler." Exaggeration, he considers, is the characteristic of the mind of both the East and West African. He says that "they justly hold labor as an evil inferior only to death."

These are the opinions which have been published by the last two consuls who have written on the subject, and we shall now examine the evidence of some other witnesses.

M. Du Chaillu describes the general characteristics of the tribes he visited as speaking the Mpongwe language as far superior to the Negroes of Congo. He says "the Negroes possess an imaginative mind, are astute speakers, sharp traders, great liars, possessing great powers of dissimulation, and are far from being in many respects the stupid people they are believed to be. In everything that does not require mental labor and forethought, they seemed to me to learn almost as fast as any amongst the more intellectual races, to a certain point." He also affirms that they have little power of forethought or power of reflection, and that there is "a total lack of generalization." He also says, that although these people "are often treacherous, they have noble qualities, are given to hospitality, and the women show great kindness of heart, especially when one takes into account the way they are created."

Brehm says that "there seems to be a complete absence of moral sentiment amongst the natives of East Sudan, who not merely excuse theft, murder, and treachery, but consider these actions as praiseworthy in man. They first learned under a Turkish ruler to distinguish

murder from justifiable homicide in war. Lying and deceitfulness are considered as marks of mental superiority; and those who suffer death on the gallows are buried with the same honors as the rich merchant or the sheik."

Count Gorz narrates of the Negro in Cuba: "Their character is very degraded; the moral feeling entirely undeveloped; all their actions proceed from animal impulse, or a cunning calculation of their own advantage. Generosity and indulgence exhibited by the white man they consider as weakness. Power imposes upon them and excites their hatred, which would become dangerous were they not aware of their powerlessness. The only efficacious punishment for them is the whip. They delight in sowing discord; are thievish and revengeful; void of any religious feeling they are given to the crudest superstition. Their frame, however, is well developed and powerful; their teeth magnificent; their legs slender; they digest like beasts of prey." This certainly is a severe judgment, and may be partly explained by the large amount of mixed blood in Cuba.

Colonel Hamilton Smith thus describes the Negro: "The Negro is habitually dormant, but when roused shows his emotion by great gesticulations, regardless of circumstances. War is a passion that excites in them a brutal disregard of human feelings; it entails the deliberate murder of prisoners, and victims are slain to serve the manes of departed chiefs. Even cannibalism is frequent among the tribes of the interior. Notwithstanding the listless torpidity caused by excessive heat, the perceptive faculties of the children are far from contemptible; they have a quick apprehension of the ridiculous, often surpassing the intelligence of the whites, and only drop behind them about the twelfth year, when the reflective powers begin to have the ascendancy. Collectively, the untutored Negro mind is confiding and single-hearted, naturally kind and hospitable. Both sexes are easily ruled, and appreciate what is good under the guidance of common justice and prudence. Yet where so much that honors human nature remains in apathy, the typical woolly-haired races have never invented a reasoned theological system, discovered an alphabet, framed a grammatical language, nor made the least step in science or art. They have never comprehended what they have learned, nor retained a civilization taught them by contact with more refined nations as soon as that contact had ceased. They have at no time formed great political states, nor commenced a self-evolving civilization. Conquest, with them, has been confined to kindred tribes, and produced only slaughter. Even Christianity, of more than three centuries' duration in Congo, has scarcely excited a progressive civilization. Thus, even the good qualities given to the Negro by the bounty of nature, have seemed only to make him a slave trodden down by every remorseless foot, and to brand him for ages with the epithet of outcast—the marked unceasing proof of a curse as old as the origin of society, not even deserving human forbearance. And true it is that the worst slavery is his lot even at home, for he is there exposed to the constant peril of becoming also a victim, slaughtered with the most revolting torments. Tyrant of his blood, he traffics in slavery as it were merchandise, makes war purposely to capture neighbors, and sells even his own wives and children."

Van Amringe thus describes the Negro race: "Even after having lived centuries with the white people, from whom they have received every possible instruction for the purpose of developing an attribute which would be so serviceable to them, as well as those whom they serve, they are very far from having a virtue for which they are distinguished or even trusted. The Cannaanite (Negro) is indolent, careless, sensual, tyrannical, predatory, sullen, boisterous, and jovial. Such are the specific characteristics, and the sensual relations are founded upon them. It has been a favorite theory with some visionary philanthropists that intermarriages of the different species would be highly favorable to the race; but we have never heard of any of them who were willing to commence the practice in their own families. There is certainly no method that could possibly be devised, which would certainly and as expeditiously degrade the whole human family as amalgamation. If there is any hope for the improvement of the condition of the dark races, the history of mankind shows it can only be founded upon the preservation of the Shemitic (white) species.—This is the only species endowed with any power to drag the cumbrous dark races out of the slough in which they had been wallowing for ages."

Burmeister, an excellent observer, says: "I have often tried to obtain an insight into the mind of the Negro; but it never was worth the trouble; the only available result obtained was, that there is not much mental life in the Negro, and that all his thoughts and actions were merely directed to the lowest requirements of human existence."

Carl Vogt has recently observed: "Most of the characters of the Negro recognized externally remind us irresistibly of the ape: the short neck, the long lean limbs, the projecting pendulous belly; all this affords a glimmer of the ape beneath the human envelope. Such similitudes are equally detected on examining the structure of individual parts."

Mr. Winwood Reade says, "It must be acknowledged, that putting all exceptions aside, the women of Africa are very inferior beings. Their very virtues, with their affections and their industry, are those of well trained domestic animals. But if the women of Africa are brutal, the men of Africa are feminine. Their faces are smooth, their breasts are frequently as full as those of European women; their voices are never gruff or deep. Their fingers are long; and they can be very proud of their rosy nails.—While the women are nearly always ill-shaped after their girlhood, the men have gracefully moulded limbs, and always are after a feminine type—the arms rounded, the legs elegantly formed, without too much muscular development, and the feet delicate and small. A king of Ashanti cut off the hands of a slave, and had her scratch his head for vermin with the stumps. If any one had accused him of barbarity he would not have understood the accusation. It was his idea of a good practical joke." He continues, "It will be understood that the typical Negroes with whom the slavers are supplied, represent the dangerous, the destitute, and the diseased classes of African society. They may be compared to those which in England fill our gaols, our work-houses, and our hospitals. So far from being equal to us, the polished inhabitants of Europe, as some ignorant people suppose, they are immeasurably below the Africans

themselves. The typical Negro is the true savage of Africa, and I must paint the deformed anatomy of his mind as I have already done that of his body. The typical Negroes dwell in petty tribes where all are equal, except the women, who are slaves; where property is common, and where, consequently, there is no property at all; where one may recognize the Utopia of philosophers, and observe the saddest and basest spectacles which humanity can afford. The typical Negro, unrestrained by moral laws, spends his days in sloth and his nights in debauchery. He smokes haschisch till he stupifies his senses, or falls into convulsions; he drinks palm-wine till he brings on a loathsome disease; he abuses children, and stabs the poor brute of a woman whose hands keep him from starvation, and makes a trade of his own offspring. He swallows up his youth in premature vice; he lingers through a manhood of disease; and his tardy death is hastened by those who no longer care to find him food. Such are the 'men and brothers' for whom their friends claim, not protection, but equality! They do not merit to be called our brethren; but let us call them our children. Let us educate them carefully, and in time we may elevate them, not to our own level—that, I fear, can never be—but to the level of those from whom they have fallen." This last remark is made in the supposition that the typical Negro is degenerated from some higher African race; but we think such an hypothesis is not warranted by history, archæology, or any well-established facts.

Dr. Van Evrie, of New York, who has paid considerable attention to the character of the Negro, and had ample opportunities for observation, thus describes the Negro: "But while the analysis of a single bone or of a single feature of the Negro being is thus sufficient to demonstrate the specific character or to show the diversity of race, that great fact is still more obviously and with equal certainty revealed in the form, attitude and other external qualities. The Negro is incapable of an erect or direct perpendicular posture. The general structure of his limbs, the form of the pelvis, the spine, the way the head is set on the shoulders—in short, the *tout ensemble* of the anatomical formation, forbids an erect position. But while the whole structure is thus adapted to a slightly stooping posture, the head would seem to be the most important agency; for with any other head, or the head of any other race, it would be impossible to retain an upright position at all. But with the broad forehead and small cerebellum of the white man, it is perfectly obvious that the Negro would no longer possess a centre of gravity; and therefore, those philanthropic people who would 'educate' him into intellectual equality, or change the mental organism of the Negro, would simply render him incapable of standing on his feet, or of an upright position, on any terms. Every one must have remarked this peculiarity in the form and attitude of the Negro. His head is thrown upwards and backwards, showing a certain though remote approximation to the quadrumana, both in its actual formation and the manner in which it is set on his shoulders. The narrow forehead and small cerebrum (the centre of the intellectual powers,) and the projection of the posterior portion (the centre of the animal functions,) render the Negro head radically and widely different from that of the white man. Thus an anatomist, with the Negro and ourang outang before him

after a careful comparison, would say, perhaps, that Nature herself had been puzzled where to place them, and had finally compromised the matter by giving them an exactly equal inclination to the form and attitude of each other."

Dr. Louis Buchner, has drawn a most graphic picture of some of the physical characters of the Negro: "An uninterrupted series of the most various transitions and analogies connect the animal world, from the lowest to the highest. Even man, who, in his spiritual pride, deems himself elevated above the animal creation, is far from forming an exception to this rule. The Ethiopian race connects him by a number of the most striking analogies with the animal world The long arms, the form of the foot, the thin calf, the long small hands, the general leanness, the undeveloped nose, the projecting jaw, the low receding forehead, the small head, the narrow pelvis, the pendulous belly, the deficient beard, the color of the skin, the disgusting odor, the uncleanliness, the grimaces in talking, the shrieking voice, are the many marks which manifestly exhibit the most decided approach of the Negro to the ape. That he also resembles him in his intellectual capacity is sufficiently known and established by the best observers"

M. Pruner Bey, one of the most eminent of living Anthropologists, has written the most complete memoir on the Negro, yet published, and this author must, for some time to come, be the supreme authority on this subject. Many years ago he thus expressed himself respecting the psychological character of the Negro: "The capacity of the Negro is limited to imitation. The prevailing impulse is for sensuality and rest. No sooner are the physical wants satisfied all physical effort ceases, and the body abandons itself to sexual gratification and rest. The family relations are weak; the husband or father is little concerned. Jealousy has only carnal motives, and the fidelity of the female is secured by mechanical contrivances. Drunkenness, gambling, sexual gratification, and ornamentation of the body are the most powerful levers in the life of the Negro. The whole industry is limited to ornaments. Instead of clothing himself, he ornaments his body. Like certain animals, the Negro seems apathetic under pain. The explosions of passions occur when least expected, but are not lasting. The temperament of the Negro has been called choleric, but it is only so to a certain extent. It is a momentary ebulition, followed instantly by perfect apathy. Life has for the Negro no longer any value when he cannot supply the physical wants. He never resists by increased activity, but prefers to die in a state of apathy, or he commits suicide. The Negro has no love for war; he is only driven to it by hunger. War, from a passion or destructiveness, is unknown to him." This is a sufficiently clear and truthful picture, and the following summary, with which M. Pruner Bey concluded his paper, presented to the Paris Anthropological Society, is equally to be commended for its truth and moderation: "The Negro has always appeared to me as partaking of the nature both of the child and the old man. Anatomists worthy of our confidence—Jacquart, Serres, and Huschke—have in this sense, interpreted the details of the anatomy of the Negro. The elongated form of the cranium, the proportions of the cerebral lobes and their respective forms, the prominence of the inferior border of the orbits, the

flattened nose, the rounded larynx, the less marked curves of the vertebral column, the lateral compression of the thorax and pelvis, with the vertical direction of the iliac bones, the elongated neck of the uterus, the proportion of the parts composing the extremities, the relative simplicity of the cerebral convolutions, &c., are characteristic features of the Negro race, which are found in the fœtus or the infant of the Aryan race, in the different periods of development. The propensity for amusements, for material enjoyments, for imitation, and the inconstancy of affection, are the appendages of the Negro as well as of our children. The flexuosity of the arteries, the flattening of the cornea, the weakness of the muscles, the dragging walk, and the early obliteration of the cranial sutures, the obstinacy and love of repose are met with in the Negro as in our aged men. In short, the great curve of human development, and its backward direction, appear to be sufficiently extended to appreciate the differences characterising the Negro race opposed to our race, always taking into account the differential characters resulting from adaptation to external conditions. If our interpretation leaves open many gaps, the future may fill them up, perhaps, in the same sense. If, finally, the Negro, speaking always figuratively, partakes of the nature of the ape, it must still be admitted that it is not the most ferocious, malicious, nor the most pernicious, but rather the most patient, and frequently the most useful animal. In any case, an honorable mediocrity is his inheritance."

The general deductions we would desire to make are: 1. That there is as good reason for classifying the Negro as a distinct species from Europeans as there is for making the ass a distinct species from the zebra; and if we take into consideration in classification, there is a far greater difference between the Negro and European than between the gorilla and chimpanzee. 2. That the analogies are far more numerous between the Negro and apes than between the European and apes. 3. That the Negro is inferior intellectually to the European. 4 That the Negro is more humanized when in his natural subordination to the European than under any other circumstances. 5. That the Negro race can only be humanized and civilized by Europeans. 6. That European civilization is not suited to the Negro requirements or character.

No man who thoroughly investigates with an unbiassed mind, can doubt that the Negro belongs to a distinct type of Man to the European. The word "species," in the present state of science is not satisfactory; but we may safely say that there is in the Negro that assemblage of evidence which would, *ipso facto*, induce an unbiassed observer to make the European and Negro two distinct types of man.

The facts I have quoted I believe are sufficient to establish the fact that the Negro is inferior intellectually to the European, and that the analogies are far more numerous between the ape and the Negro than between the ape and the European.

We shall not enter at length into the three last propositions. Suffice it to say, that no subject needs more attention at this minute than the position which the Negro race is fitted to hold in Nature. I have said it devolves on the student of the Science of Man to assign to each race the position which it shall hold. This is surely a momentous and most difficult problem, but one

which science must not evade. As the student of mechanical science has given to the world his inductions and discoveries, so must the student of the Science of Man endeavor to deduce from actual facts principles of guidance for the relations of one race of Man to another.

It is painful to reflect on the misery which has been inflicted on the Negro race, and the ignorance of Anthropological Science, especially on the great question of race. By our ignorance of the wants and aspirations of the Negro, and by a mistaken theory respecting his origin, this country has been the means of inflicting a prodigious, and, at present totally unknown amount of mischief on these people. Our Bristol and Liverpool merchants, perhaps, helped to benefit the race when they transplanted some of them to America; and our mistaken legislature has increased the death-rates of the slaves to an alarming extent by absurd and unwarrantable attempts to prevent Africa exporting her surplus population. All this has been done on the theoretical assumption of a mental equality of the different races or species of Man. In an attempt to benefit the Negro, we have brought on him endless misery, and rendered some of the most beautiful and productive islands in the world of little more use to humanity at large than they were before their discovery by Columbus. But men wedded to a theory become blind to all facts, and will learn nothing from experience. All the millions of money which have been spent, and which has inflicted great hardships on our own working classes, might have been saved had we taken the trouble to investigate the character of the Negro race. Scientific men have yet to do their duty in showing what are the true facts.

It may be said that some of the propositions I have advanced are in favor of the slave trade. Such, however, is not my own interpretation of these propositions. No one can be more conscious of the horrors of the "slave trade" as conducted at this time. Nothing can be worse for Africa generally than the continual capture of innocent men and women by brutal Europeans. Few things can be more horrible than the manner in which these people are attempted to be carried across the Atlantic. Nay, more, nothing can be more unjust than to sell any man, woman, or child into "slavery," as understood by the Grecks and Romans, where the life of the slave was absolutely at the disposal of the master whenever his caprice or fancy thought fit to take it. We protest against being put forward as advocating such views.

But while I say this, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that slavery, as understood by the ancients, does not exist out of Africa, and that the highest type of the Negro race is at present to be found in the so-called Slave States of America. Far superior in intelligence and physique to both his brethren in Africa and to his "free" brethren in the Federal States, nowhere does the Negro attain such a long life as in the Confederate States, and this law formerly obtained in the West India Islands before our mistaken interference. Nowhere does the Negro character shine so highly as it does in his childish and fond attachment to his master and his family. The Negro cares far more for his master and mistress than he does for his own children after they are a few years old. I by no means join in that indiscriminate abuse of the Negro character which has been indulged in, especially by those who have only seen the Negro in his

savage state, or the "emancipated" (from work?) in the West India Islands. On the contrary, there is much that is to be admired, and more that is useful in the Negro, when properly and kindly treated. Brutal masters there are in every part of the world: but we must not found a law on exceptions. Scientific men, therefore, dare not close their eyes to the clear facts, as to the improvement in mind and body, as well as the general happiness, which is seen in those parts of the world in which the Negro is working his natural subordination to the European. In some respects, the Negro is certainly not only not inferior, but even far superior to the European. If, for instance, the European was alone in the Confederate States of America, those fertile regions would soon become a barren waste. The Negro is there able to work with impunity, and does himself and the world generally much good by his labor. Occupations and diseases which are fatal to the Europeans are quite harmless to the Negro. By their juxtaposition in this part of the world they confer a material benefit on each other.

But, it may be asked, "Why remove the Negro from his own country? Why not humanize him in Africa?" No doubt this sounds very feasible, and no pains should be spared to introduce every possible humanizing influence into Africa. There is little doubt that the African is more easily humanized out of his native land, away from all his savage associations; but this need not prevent us from doing all we can towards civilizing him in his own country.

It has been affirmed on the best authority (although frequently denied) that domestic slaves are only sold in Africa for some crime. No one, we presume, will dare assert that there are no criminals in Africa. "What shall we do with our criminals?" may be a problem which is occupying the attention of the political economist of Africa—like His Majesty, the King of Dahomey—as well as the Government of Great Britain. Is Africa not to be allowed to export her criminals, or are they so worthless and unmanageable that no people will have them? What is to be done with unruly or criminal slaves? As a king of Old Calabar said, "You bind me down not to sell them, tell me it is wrong to kill them what must I do with them? I will *give you some and then you won't take them!*" Would it not be well to allow a regular export of the surplus population, instead of permitting, and indeed encouraging, the butcheries of the so-called King of Dahomey? The difficulties of humanizing, much less of civilizing, the African in his own country are very great; yet, if such healthy sentiments were generally diffused in this country as have been lately published in an admirable work, entitled "Wanderings in Western Africa," it is impossible to say what great results might in time be attained. This author well says, "Ever remember that by far the greater number of the liberated were the vilest of criminals in their own land, and that in their case exportation becomes, in fact, the African form of transportation."

There is abundant evidence to show that the Negro will not work without a considerable amount of persuasion. Even Dr. R. Clarke is obliged to admit that the Creoles of Sierra Leone "manifest the utmost contempt for agricultural pursuits, and the same feeling seems to actuate the half-educated liberated African lads." Another writer observes,

that "in Sierra Leone the Christian tenderness of the British Government has tended to demoralize them. The women have become as vicious as those of Egypt, the basest of kingdoms—worse than the men, bad as they are. Theft is carried to such an extent, that no improvement is possible at Freetown."

I have stated that one of the results of my inquiry leads me to believe that English institutions are not suited to the Negro race. There seems to be a maximum testimony to show that the liberated and the Creoles in our colonies are a perfectly worthless set. They accept all the vices of our civilization with none of its duties. A recent public writer, in behalf of the English colonies on the West coast of Africa, says: "The African is far more innocent and natural a creature when he has never been brought within the range of civilized life. The liberated Africans are far superior to the rising generation—in energy, in talent, and in honest principles. To handle a hoe has now become a disgrace, and the people have lost their manhood by becoming gentlemen. Only the ignorant can boast of the extensive freedom we have given the African. Freedom, indeed, we should have given, but it ought to have been qualified to suit their capacities."

In now bringing my remarks to a close, I cannot, perhaps, do better than quote the graphic picture of the present state of Africa, which has only been published during the last few weeks. There is much true science and healthy manhood in these sentiments. The work of which I speak is evidently the work of a man who has devoted much attention to the study of the great science of mankind; and I am pleased to find that my own views find ample support in the conclusions of this accomplished and scientific observer. Speaking of the Negroes of Bonny, he says: "The slaves wore a truly miserable appearance, lean and deformed, with krakra lepra and fearful ulcerations. It is in these places that one begins to feel a doubt touching the total suppression of slavery. The chiefs openly beg that the rules may be relaxed, in order that they may get rid of their criminals. This is at present impossible, and the effects are a reduplication of misery. We pamper our convicts; Africans torture them to death. Cheapness of the human article is another cause of immense misery to it. In some rivers a canoe crew never lasts three years. Pilfering—'Show me a black man and I will show you a thief,' say the traders—and debauchery are natural to the slave, and they must be repressed by abominable cruelties. The master thinks nothing of nailing their hands to a water cask, of mutilating them in various ways; many lose their eyes by being peppered, after the East Indian fashion, with coarsely-powdered cayenne; their ears are cut off, or they are flogged. The whip is composed of a twisted bullock's or hippopotamus' hide, sun dried, with a sharp edge at the turns, and often wrapped with copper wire; it is less merciful even than the knout, now historical. The operation may be prolonged for hours, or for a whole day, the culprit's arms being tied to a rafter, which keeps them at full stretch, and every fifteen minutes or so a whack, that cuts away the flesh like a knife, is administered. This is a favorite treatment for guilty wives, who are also ripped up, cut to pieces, or thrown to the sharks. If a woman has twins, or becomes mother of more than four, the parent is

banished and the children are destroyed. The greatest insult is to point at a man with arm and two fingers extended, saying at the same time, Nama shubra! *i. e.*, one of twins, or a son of some lower animal. When a great man dies, all kinds of barbarities are committed; slaves are buried, or floated down the river bound to bamboo sticks and mats, till eaten piecemeal by sharks. The slave, as might be expected, is not less brutal than his lord. It amazes me to hear Englishmen plead that there is moral degredation to a Negro bought by a white man, and none when serving under a black man. The philanthropists, doubtless, think how our poorer classes at home, in the nineteenth century, would feel if hurried from liberty to eternal servitude by some nefarious African. But can any civilized sentiments belong to the miserable half-starved being, whose one scanty meal of vegetable per day is eked out with monkey and snake, cat and dog, maggot and grub?—whose life is ceaseless toil, varied only by torture, and who may be destroyed at any moment by a nod from his owner? When the slave has once surmounted his dread of being shipped by the white man, nothing under the sun would, I believe induce him willingly to return to what he should call his home. And as they were, our West Indian colonies were lands of happiness compared with Oil Rivers; as for the 'Southern States,' the slave's lot is paradise when succeeding what he endures on the West Coast of Africa. I believe these to be facts, but *tant pis pour les faits*. Presently, however, the philanthropic theory shall fall, and shall be replaced by a new fabric, built upon a more solid foundation."

In conclusion, let me observe that it is not alone the man of science who has discerned the Negro's unfitness for civilization, as we understand it. Here is Mr. Anthony Trollope, who is certainly quite guiltless of ever having examined the evidence of the distinction between the Negro and European, and yet truly says of the Negroes:—"Give them their liberty, starting them well in the world at what expense you please, and at the end of six months they will come back upon your hands for the means of support. Everything must be done for them; they expect food, clothes and instruction as to every simple act of life, as do children."

We must for the present leave aside all questions as to the origin of the Negro, and simply take him as he exists, and not as poets and fanatics paint him We shall then learn, that it is only by observation and experiment that we can determine the exact place in nature which the Negro race should hold, and that it is both absurd and chimerical to attempt to put him in any other.

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